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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Forty-eighth session
Agenda items 7, 10, 11 (a), 14, 20 and 22

QUESTION OF THE REALIZATION IN ALL COUNTRIES OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS CONTAINED IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, AND STUDY OF SPECIAL PROBLEMS WHICH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FACE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THESE HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING: PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE RIGHT TO ENJOY AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING; FOREIGN DEBT, ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT POLICIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE FULL ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT

QUESTION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL PERSONS SUBJECTED TO ANY FORM OF DETENTION OR IMPRISONMENT

FURTHER PROMOTION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF THE PROGRAMME AND METHODS OF WORK OF THE COMMISSION: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF INTOLERANCE AND OF DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RELIGION OR BELIEF

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

GE.92-10750/4225B

Letter dated 10 February 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations Office at Geneva addressed to the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights

I have the honour to transmit herewith the "Memorandum of the Government of Yugoslavia on the crime of genocide in Croatia and the vandalizing of the memorial of Jasenovac" of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia dated 31 January 1992.

I would like to request that the necessary arrangements be made to have the text of this information issued as an official document of the forty-eighth session of the Commission on Human Rights under agenda items 7, 10, 11 (a), 14, 20 and 22.

(Signed): Nasta Calovski
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Belgrade, 31 January 1992

Memorandum of the Government of Yugoslavia on the crime of genocide in Croatia and the vandalizing of the memorial of Jasenovac

Feeling great responsibility and concern for the future development of the situation, not only in Yugoslavia, we regret to inform the United Nations Organization, international organizations, institutions and associations, renowned scholars, prominent personalities in the field of culture and public life, partisans of peace and democracy, true fighters for human rights and freedoms and the world public, that Croatian authorities and their paramilitary and illegal armed forces have committed, in 1991 and early 1992 for the second time in the past 50 years, the crime of genocide against the Serbian people in Croatia, as well as other crimes. In addition to physical liquidation, primarily of members of the Serbian population, Croatian authorities are using terror and issuing official orders to forcefully move citizens out of the territory of Croatia, with a view to creating ethnically homogenous areas. The Serbian population has seen the destruction of their property, cultural goods and objects of value, cultural and historical monuments, temples, national and cultural institutions. The Serbian population in Croatia has been demoted from a constituent nation to a national minority, stripped of its rights and humiliated, and it is their plight which lies at the heart of the conflicts in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

The facts stated in annexes I, II and III to this memorandum, are cases of flagrant violation of international law and are qualified by that law as the crime of genocide, based on the Convention of the United Nations General Assembly of 1948. Under the said Convention, the crime of genocide is understood to be: the intention to exterminate, totally or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; murder of members of such a group; heavy injuries of the physical or psychological integrity of members of such a group, international exposure of such a group to inhuman living conditions. According to this and other international norms, the crime of genocide does not fall under the statute of limitations, regardless of whether it was committed in time of war or peace.

We must also point out that the Memorial of Jasenovac has been vandalized as well, a memorial which covers the location of a former ustashi concentration camp on both banks of the Sava river, along a length of some 50 km, and includes the Memorial Museum and a number of memorial units, as well as a symbolical monument, the Stone Flower.

The vandalization of the memorial complex of Jasenovac and the destruction of cultural and religious property of Serbs in Croatia constitute gross violations of the Convention on the Protection of Cultural Goods in the Event of Armed Conflict endorsed on 14 May 1954 in The Hague, the Supplimentary Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949, and the Second Protocol of 1977 under which: "it is prohibited to commit any acts of

hostility against historical monuments, works of art or temples which constitute a nation's cultural or spiritual heritage, or use them to support military action", which is precisely what Croatia's armed formations have done on a large scale.

1. Proceeding from the facts stated above, the Yugoslav Government believes that there is sufficient evidence for the United Nations and other international organizations to identify and qualify genocidal acts committed by the Croation authorities. Therefore, we propose that action be taken by the United Nations to establish the real truth about the genocide which has been committed and condemn it in an appropriate manner.

2. The policy of genocide against Serbs in Croatia flagrantly tramples fundamental human rights and freedoms. We therefore feel justified in expecting the appropriate commissions of the United Nations to consider the violation of the human rights and freedoms of the Serbian and other nations or national minorities in Croatia, and the danger of their position.

3. We believe that the United Nations and its specialized organizations (UNESCO and others) will condemn the behaviour of the Croatian authorities in respect of historical, cultural and religious values and take measures for their protection, especially with regard to the memorial complex of Jasenovac. We propose that UNESCO, in accordance with the 1972 Convention on the Protection of World Natural and Cultural Heritage, establish a commission which would assess on the spot the scale of damage and vandalization to which the memorial complex of Jasenovac has been subjected.

4. Furthermore, we believe that it is necessary to put under the protection of appropriate international organizations and associations the members, monuments and symbols of anti-fascist struggle in Croatia.

5. The federal authorities in Yugoslavia are taking, for their part, all the necessary measures to bring criminal, moral and political action against the policy of genocide and protect its victims. In this effort, Yugoslavia, as a founding member of the United Nations, expects assistance and support from the entire democratic world public.

6. We call upon all international institutions, organizations and associations, as well as prominent individuals, to acquaint themselves with the facts stated in this memorandum and its annexes I, II and III, and to take whatever action is in their power to establish the truth, condemn genocide, alleviate the consequences and prevent such crimes from ever happening anywhere again.

Annex 1

1. REPETITION OF THE PHYSICAL, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL GENOCIDE AGAINST THE SERBIAN POPULATION IN CROATIA

A crime which under the provisions of international law has the nature of genocide is today once again being perpetrated against the Serbian population in the Republic of Croatia. We shall adduce only a few facts to substantiate this claim.

At the beginning of November 1991, the authorities and the armed formations of the Croatian army expelled from the region of Western Slavonija (Psunj, Papuk and Bilogora) over 25,000 old men, women and children of Serbian nationality. This irrational act was preceded by the decree of the so-called Crisis Headquarters of the Croatian authorities from Slavonska Požega, of 29 October 1991, ordering the evacuation of 24 Serbian villages within 48 hours.* On that occasion a total of 17 Serbian villages were completely destroyed and burned down. In that instance nearly 10,000 inhabitants fled to Bosnia alone from this region.

The area of the village of Torjanci, in Baranja, was on 30 November 1991, infiltrated by a larger sabotage-terrorist group which massacred nine inhabitants of the village.

On the territory of Western Slavonija (direction Novo Selo, Dragović, Kusonje), on 16 December 1991, three airplanes of the Croatian agricultural aviation, retrofitted for war operations, bombed a column of Serbian refugees from the regions of Psunj and Papuk, killing some and wounding some tens of civilians.

In the village of Divoš, near Osijek, when retreating, Croatian soldiers killed 24 inhabitants of Serbian nationality, of whom six were massacred. They chopped off three fingers of the right hand of Milenko Banjanin with an axe and split his skull with an iron wedge. A stake for burning captured members of the Yugoslav People's Army and territorial defence was found in the village.

In the small town of Petrinja, on 19 December 1991, members of the Croatian paramilitary formations burned Ankica Konjuh, 70 years old, former inmate of the concentration camp Jasenovac, alive, on the threshold of her home.

Arrests, followed by the liquidation of numerous citizens of Serbian nationality were carried out in Vukovar, Gospić, Daruvar, Ogulin, Pakračka Poljana, Zadar, Zagreb and other cities.

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* See annex II.

In Vukovar, members of the so-called Zengas (Croatian national guard) and Ustashi formations systematically banished or annihilated the Serbian and other non-Croatian population. This is testified to by statements by the banished citizens and families of the killed, as well as confessions by the Croatian authorities in Vukovar and other evidence.* After the liberation of Vukovar, on 18 November 1991, numerous collective graves of killed and massacred civilians were found, among which were the bodies of five children under the age of seven, slaughtered or killed by bullets at short range. A comprehensive investigation is currently under way of the crime of genocide and other grave crimes perpetrated in Vukovar and other settlements in Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem.

On 16 and 17 October 1991, several tens of Serbs were taken away from Gospić by force, and in the next few days tens of other members of this nation were led away from their jobs or disappeared, among them a large number of elderly people and children. At the end of December of last year and at the beginning of January this year, in the village of Siroka Kula and near Perušić, the bodies were found of 24 missing Serbs killed in the most ruthless way - by a shot in the back of the head or in the back, by having their throats cut, or otherwise as was confirmed by forensic medicine experts.

In Karlovac, on 21 September 1991, after first being shot in the legs, 13 members of the Yugoslav People's Army were slaughtered and then massacred, after they had surrendered to the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

Among the 20 Orthodox priests arrested on 30 October 1991 was His Holiness Lukijan, Bishop of Slavonia.

Pressure is being exerted on the Serbian population in Croatia to move to other parts of Yugoslavia. According to the data of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia over 250,000 refugees of Serbian nationality have been registered. According to the latest data, a large number of citizens of Serbian nationalilty have been moved out from Zagreb under pressure. Serbs are losing not only their public functions but also their jobs. Up to now, about 120,000 Serbs in Croatia have been fired, because of their national affiliation. About 600 of their shops or businesses have been blown up, destroyed or damaged; several thousand of their flats, summer houses and other facilities have been destroyed after having been robbed. In the course of only one day, 90 small-scale businesses owned by Serbs were robbed and blown up in Zadar. According to a special war decree of F. Tudjman, President of Croatia, the police may enter flats without a warrant or decision, thus allowing the ruthless robbing, arrest and detention of citizens without any legal justification.

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* See annex III.

According to the data of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, on the territory of Croatia, up to the end of October 1991, "71 Orthodox churches were destroyed or severely damaged", of which 27 were in the Eparchy of Slavonija, 18 in the Eparchy of Zagreb-Ljubljana, 14 in the Eparchy of Srem, 6 in the Eparchy of Gornji Karlovac and 6 in the Eparchy of Dalmatia.

The paramilitary formations of the Croatian army demolished, on 28 September 1991, the baroque complex of the court residence of the Pakrac Bishops, built in 1732, and set fire to the Pakrac Seminary. In the Orthodox cathedral they burned down the iconostasis and numerous icons, the bishophry library with 5,500 books including 120 books of invaluable cultural and historical value. The books destroyed included 50 dating from the 18th century. A unique copy of a "Sabornik", printed in Venice between 1536 and 1538 was also destroyed. The Church of St. Paraskeva in Kukunjevac dating from 1782 was also destroyed.

The crime against the civilian population of Serbian nationality continued in Croatia even after 3 January 1992, i.e. after the fifteenth negotiated truce and the cessation of military conflicts on a broader scale. On the basis of data collected in the municipalities of Slavonska Požega, Podravska Slatina, Daruvar, Grubisino Polje, Virovitica, Orahovica and Slavonski Brod, the Serbian population which did not flee to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia is exposed to various forms of terror; killing, physical maltreatment, arrests. Whole villages once populated by inhabitants of Serbian nationality are being blown up, houses burned down and all material goods plundered. It is characteristic that on the whole these are areas which in the Second World War were also the site of the crime of genocide. By its latest measures, the present Croatian Government is not only continuing with the practices of the Ustashi-fascist authorities of 50 years ago, but is trying totally to eradicate the Serbian national identity from those regions with a view to creating an ethnically pure state.

2. JASENOVAC - THE SITE OF THE HOLOCAUST OF SERBS, JEWS, THE ROMANY AND ANTI-FASCISTS IN GENERAL

Holocausts of Serbs and other non-Croatian peoples, after the occupation of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the quisling Ustashi Independent State of Croatia, on 10 April 1941, were on the broadest scale. Ustashi propaganda constantly reiterated that "there was no place in Croatia" for Serbs and Jews, characterizing them as a "foreign element" and a "vital danger to Croats". On that basis the previously prepared programme of the crime of genocide was initiated and implemented. In carrying it out, by their sadism and pathology, the Ustashi surpassed even the Nazis themselves, who, by their fascist ideology, terrorist experience, racial theory and the negation of Yugoslavia were and remained the Ustashi ideal.

The quisling Independent State of Croatia, emulating Nazi Germany, established a number of concentration and collection camps, among which the complex of the camp of Jasenovac stands out by its size. It is the site of the most horrible holocaust of Serbs, Jews, the Romany and anti-fascists in general.

Jasenovac was the largest concentration camp in the quisling Independent State of Croatia, the third largest in Europe and the largest place of mass execution on the territory of Yugoslavia. In the system of the concentration camps of the Third Reich it had the status of a central camp. It was established in the village of Jasenovac, in the summer of 1941, on the banks of the Sava River, 100 km south of Zagreb, and it was liberated in April 1945. It has remained the epitome of the atrocities of the Ustashi rule and the crimes of genocide from 1941 to 1945.

On the basis of the report of the Commission for Establishing War Crimes and other established data, the number of victims in this camp was about 600,000 men, women, children, old and infirm people. Regrettably, the present President of the Republic of Croatia in his quasi-historical observations and public statements constantly reduces the number of victims of Jasenovac. Thus, from the rostrum of the Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, on 7 November 1991, in the face of Europe and of the world, he stated that "20,000 victims, all in all, not only Serbs, but also Jews, Croats, the Romany, anti-fascists, etc., perished in that Jasenovac".

The Encyclopaedia of the Holocaust, published in London and New York, states: "About 600,000 people were killed in Jasenovac, mainly Serbs, Jews, the Romany, and opponents of the Ustashi regime. The number of Jewish victims ranged between 20 and 25 thousand. Killing and brutality in the camp reached their peak at the end of 1942, when tens of thousands of Serbian peasants were deported to Jasenovac from areas where fighting was being waged against partisans on Mount Kozara. In April 1945, the partisan army neared the camp. Attempting to remove the traces of their bestiality, the Ustashi blew up all the installations and killed most of the prisoners."

The monstrous machinery of death was in daily operation in Jasenovac. The manner in which the victims were tortured and killed, the bestial maltreatment of the inmates, the killing of children and old people, the raping of daughters and the massacre of sons in the presence of powerless parents who met with the same destiny afterwards, the extermination of Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies, surpass anything that the sickest mind could imagine and carry out.

This horrible picture of the crime of genocide is supplemented by the fact that, under the decision of Ante Pavelić, head of the quisling Independent State of Croatia, of 12 July 1941, separate camps for children (in Gornja Reka near Križevci, Jastrebarsko and Sisak) were established. These were the only camps in Europe for "enemies of the order, in diapers". In Jasenovac itself, over 20,000 children, below the age of six, were slaughtered and killed in cruel ways.

3. DESECRATION OF THE MEMORIAL COMPLEX OF JASENOVAC - REPEATED GENOCIDE

The Jasenovac Memorial Complex is the resting place of the dead, and also a warning and lesson to the living, the symbol of a troubled time for all times and all people committed to freedom, justice and peace. It is the only monumental complex in Europe, symbolizing the struggle for peace and against fascism which has been ruthlessly desecrated over the whole period since the Second World War.

In view of the lasting messages of Jasenovac, its historic place in the suffering and the struggle against fascism, its eternal importance, especially in the conscience and feelings of the Serbian people, the Jews, the Romany and others, we announce with bitterness that the new Croatian authorities and their armed formations, during 1991, by force and in other ways grossly desecrated the Memorial Complex of Jasenovac. The following relevant facts testify to that.

The desecration of the Memorial Complex of Jasenovac, of its premises and site, began before the armed conflicts. Among other things, first the Ministry of Education, Culture and Religion of the Republic of Croatia, embarked on the official abolishment of the Memorial Complex, and the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia proclaimed a nature park, "Lonjsko polje", which was to include the Jasenovac Memorial Complex. The Government of the Republic of Croatia did not provide the regular financial means for the work on this Memorial Complex in 1991. It was only an introduction to and announcement of what was to ensue, especially as of September 1991. This act was an attempt to erase from historical memory the site of the most terrible crime of genocide.

At the end of September 1991, the paramilitary armed formations of the Republic of Croatia forcibly entered the Memorial Complex of Jasenovac and remained there until 8 October 1991, when this region was once again liberated. After previously blowing up and destroying the bridge over the Sava river which connects the two parts of this Memorial Complex, they destroyed the Memorial Complex and destroyed important evidence on the genocide carried out 56 years ago. A commission, set up for this purpose by the competent authorities, established that a large number of mortar missiles had hit Donja Gradina, where there were 34 craters made by explosions of mortar grenades. The bones displaced by the grenades disclosed another, up to now unknown, collective grave of the victims of Jasenovac. The greatest devastation took place on the left bank of the Sava river, located in the Republic of Croatia. The building housing the library, a storehouse of memorial exhibits and exhibiting space was demolished. Books, documents and other memorial materials were destroyed or damaged, and a large part taken away. Most of the cca.8 thousand of the most valuable museum exhibits were destroyed, damaged or taken away.

In response to the above-mentioned desecration, Jewish war veterans and the surviving prisoners of the camp of Jasenovac addressed a message to the Congress of the World Federation (FMAC), held in Helsinki on 20 October 1991. The message, inter alia, states: "The Memorial Centre in Jasenovac, the place of execution of Jews, Serbs and the Romany during World War II has been desecrated, the Memorial Museum containing documentation on the genocide perpetrated has been devastated".

On 22 December 1991, the Croatian paramilitary formations once again, in spite of the previously signed truce and notification to the Croatian authorities on the stay of the members of the Preparatory Group of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Mission opened artillery fire from launcher batteries, cannon and tanks on the Memorial Complex of Jasenovac and its broader victinity, lasting several hours. On that occasion the Museum was hit and suffered great damage, and the graveyards on the largest camp execution site, Donja Gradina, were also bombed.

Annex II

Of late, combat actions of chetnik terrorist forces and units of the Yugoslav Army are increasingly endangering the civilian population in the western part of the commune of Slavonska Požega; therefore, in order to protect their lives and provide for more successful action for our defence in that area, the Crisis Headquarters of the Commune of Slavonska Požega issued the following.

Order

1. Evacuate all civilians, their personal property (food, clothing and footwear, bed linen, toiletries, basic kitchen utensils, lighting, gold and money) and cattle from the following settlements: Oblakovac, Vučjak Očavački, Jeminovac, Snjegavić, Očavac, Koprivna, Rasna, Pasikovci, Kujnik, Orljavac, Crljenci, Sloboština, Milivojevci, Podsreće, Vranić, Nježić, Požeški Markovac, Klisa, Ozdrakovci, Poljanska, Kantrovci, Gornji Vrhovci, Lučinci and Oljasi within 48 (forty-eight) hours from the entry into force of this order.

2. The citizenry will be moved to other settlements in the area of Slavonska Požega of their own choice.

Citizens who have no place to go are to report to the reception teams of the Civil Defence, for evacuation to the following points of assembly: Ivandol, Deževci, Perenci, Toranj, and Biškupci.

3. This order shall take effect on 29 October 1991 at 12.00 a.m. and its duration shall depend on the time it takes for the situation in the said area to settle down.

4. Upon the expiry of the said period allowed for evacuation, all movement of civilians in the said area shall be prohibited.

Crisis Headquarters of the
Commune of Slavonska Požega

Annex III

CONFIDENTIAL

Republic of Croatia
Commune of Vukovar
Representative of the Government of Croatia
in the Commune of Vukovar

Ref.: 814-01/91-01-01
Reg. No.: 2196-01-91-5

Vukovar, 18 August 1991

Attention: PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
MINISTER OF DEFENCE
MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Subject: Political and security situation in the commune of Vukovar: Report

The appointment of Merčep Tomislav to the post of Secretary of the Municipal Secretariat in Vukovar constituted a usurpation of power and concentration of authority in one person by the President of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) and virtually put under his control the Croatian National Guard (ZNG) and all police and civilian authorities. Surrounded by people of doubtful moral and professional value, former criminals, he and his entourage put under their absolute control everything in the commune of Vukovar, resorting to violence and repressive measures against the citizens of the commune of Vukovar (forcefully breaking into private flats, directing, orally and in writing, persons requiring accommodation to move into abandoned flats, plundering private premises, commandeering private vehicles, taking in citizens by force for interrogation, even execution). Such behaviour on their part created in the city a general psychosis of fear among the Croatian and Serbian population, which led to a mass flight of citizens from the city, totally paralysed the work of the police, the ZNG, and administrative authorities, and created general confusion. As things were totally out of control, Merčep Tomislav was forced out of his position of Secretary of the Municipal Secretariat for National Defence because it was obvious that his activity was leading to general disaster. Following an intervention by Mr. Manolič, Tomislav Merčep was recalled to Zagreb, presumably to assume the post of Assistant Minister for Internal Affairs, as the media reported. His departure had left an extremely confused state of affairs and a vacuum which we tried to deal with by setting up the Crisis Headquarters and filling important vacancies, with appropriate distinction made among the competences of the ZNG, the police, civilian authorities and political parties. As the new arrangement was beginning to fall into place, things were once again complicated when Zagreb began appointing to Vukovar incompetent and unqualified people. Thus, for example, ZNG Commander Stipan Radeš, a qualified and able

man was recalled, a person who enjoyed confidence and was backed by the representative of the Government of the Republic of Croatia in the commune of Vukovar and the Crisis Headquarters of Vukovar, and who had been nominated by the Commander of the Third Brigade, Lieutenant Colonel Vukovac, head of the Crisis Headquarters for Slavonia and Baranja, Franjo Pejić, and Coordinator for Slavonia and Baranja, Mr. Šeks. He was replaced by Mr. Arbanas, with Zadro Blago as his deputy - persons with no qualification for the job whatsoever. This replacement was effected without any explanation at all, on the strict orders of Minister Bebić. At the proposal of the Crisis Headquarters, the post of Acting Secretary of the Municipal Secretariat for National Defence was given, by appointment of the representative of the Government of the Republic of Croatia in Vukovar, to Prof. Rehak Danijel, whom we consider to be qualified for the job. All of a sudden came the official appointment to that post of Gazo Josip, former deputy of Merčep, who had no professional or other qualification (he graduated from secondary school and never did his military service). With the situation in Vukovar in such disarray, we ask for your intervention because the commune of Vukovar is a highly volatile crisis area, in which armed conflicts on a large scale can break out at any minute, and the city is almost under siege. The newly appointed persons continue the policy of Tomislav Merčep and the city is again the victim of terror, armed strife and provocative shoot-outs with potentially unfathomable consequences. The policy pursued so far has created an atmosphere of terror among the Croatian and Serbian population. The Croatian part of the population unanimously denounces such behaviour and feels disgraced and compromised and no longer wishes to bear responsibility for such a policy. As we do not feel in a position to sort things out with our local resources, we are asking you to urgently send here competent people who would help the legal institutions and authorities bring life back to normal.

Representative of the Government of the
Republic of Croatia in the commune of Vukovar
Marin Vidić-Bili

cc: SDP Ivan Račan
HNS Savka D. Kučar
HSLS D. Budiša
HDS M. Veselica